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THE RESEARCH NUMBER

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The Journal of Educational Sociology

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

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A department presenting a short biography of each writer in the current number of *THE JOURNAL* for the purpose of making the readers better acquainted with the contributors of the articles.

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EDITORIAL

The JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has been interested in subjects related to its general field: the application of sociology to education. One of these with which it has been particularly concerned is research. Recognizing the importance of research as a basis for social planning in education, the JOURNAL has maintained from its beginning a department of research methods and projects in educational sociology. Its readers have been invited to submit research studies in process or contemplated and to describe the organization and methods of such studies.

In pursuance of this interest the JOURNAL presents herewith a special number devoted to research, designed to indicate some methods of organization and techniques of investigation. The present number does not attempt to exhaust the field or present all the representative types of research. Much good material which has been made available for this issue has had to be omitted for lack of space.

In addition to articles devoted to technical problems of methodology in the present number, the attempt is made to describe some current research set-ups such as those of the Yale Institute of Human Relations, the National Education Association, and the Welfare Council of New York City. A statement of the history and work of the Social Science Research Council, provided through the courtesy of

Robert S. Lynd, secretary of the Council, and M. F. Hall, secretary to Mr. Lynd, will appear in the June issue of the JOURNAL.

It is hoped that further reports of research projects and methods will be forwarded to the JOURNAL from time to time to appear in its regular monthly department.

This issue of the JOURNAL has been prepared by Professor Frederic M. Thrasher, editor of the department of research methods and projects.

OMISSION

Due to an error Mr. Adolph Aleck, instructor in the School of Education, New York University, was not given credit for the translation of Mr. L. H. Ad. Geck's article "German Publications in 1929 and 1930 on Problems of Social Education" which appeared in the April number.

THE PROBLEM OF CONTROLS IN EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY

F. STUART CHAPIN

Expressions of skepticism of the possibility of experimental work in sociology are due to misunderstanding of the connotation of the term "control" in such research. Objections seem to be due sometimes to confusion occasioned by the false analogy of vivisection. Experimental method in sociology does not mean holding an active human being in a vise-like grip. It does not mean interference with individual movement or freedom. It does not endanger life and limb or moral character. Experimental work in sociology means the possibility of passive description in terms of standardized units of a scale of measurement.

Experimental method is observation under conditions of control. All factors save the one to be measured are held constant. Otherwise we would not know whether the effect was due to both factors in combination, or to that one which overbalanced the others. If no effect ensued we could not tell which factor was responsible or whether one neutralized the other.¹

There are two implicit assumptions in experimental method, assumptions which should be recognized and stated explicitly, otherwise confusion of interpretation results. The first implicit assumption is that we can identify the causal factors (or enumerate them). The second implicit assumption is that having identified some of the causal factors we can then hold them constant. Let us examine these two assumptions carefully.

Can we identify the causal factors? If the answer is affirmative it is based on the fact or the assumption that we have previously experienced or observed these causal factors. The fact of previous experience is the empirical basis

¹F. Stuart Chapin, "The Experimental Method and Sociology," *The Scientific Monthly*, February and March, 1917, pp. 133-144; pp. 238-247.

of our procedure. Or we may say that our knowledge of the causal factors in the situation is empirical and usually not scientific in the sense of knowledge based on previous measurement of the causal factors. If we merely assume that we have identified the causal factors, our position is even less secure. In any event proof (or reasonable certainty) must rest on rotation of these supposedly causal factors (constants) in successive experimental situations, and methodical attempts to describe them in terms of units of a scale of measurement.

Let us assume, then, that we have identified some of the causal factors in a situation and we desire to study the effect of some additional variable factor. Our first step is to hold these known causal factors constant and to allow the single variable factor to change so that we may observe the effects. Now just how do we hold these causal factors constant? This is the crux of the whole experimental procedure. The verbal answer is so simple as to seem either trite or deceptive. It is—measure these causal factors (describe them quantitatively), for when two variables show the same measurement under like conditions they may be regarded as constants as concerns the attribute measured (for all practical purposes). Although the verbal answer is direct and simple, the construction and application of a procedure of study which enables us to measure or to describe a variable quantitatively is by no means simple. But given a standardized tool of measurement it is possible to select subjects with identical measurements of the significant attribute and then to set them up an experimental situation with the assurance that so far as these attributes are concerned we have our constants or controls and may proceed to observations of the variable factor which is the chief subject of investigation. It thus appears that experimental procedure hinges on the possibility of measurement. Inasmuch as I have treated this subject at length in a recent paper² and even more recently Miss McCormick has pub-

²F. Stuart Chapin, "The Meaning of Measurement in Sociology," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV (1930), pp. 83-94.

lished two admirable monographs on the subject,³ I shall not attempt to review this very technical problem here, but suggest that the reader consult these sources. All that it seems necessary to note here is the fact that the possibility of measurement or quantitative description depends upon setting up weighted scales and then standardizing these scales by tests for reliability and validity in accordance with well established and authenticated procedures.

The foregoing discussion of the logic of experimental method in sociology now requires elaboration by the introduction of specific examples which will illustrate each point. The literature of experimental sociology is rapidly increasing⁴ and it would be impossible to summarize it in this space. I shall, therefore, merely describe some types of experimental study which illustrate the logical procedures and criteria of the method and then pass on to an attempt to distinguish four variations in experimental study as now used in the investigation of sociological problems.

My analysis of this selected list of experimental studies will subject each study presented to four tests of experimental method: (1) identification and enumeration of the known (probable) causal factors; (2) description of the devices used to hold these causal factors constant; (3) statement of the variable factor to be measured; and (4) description of the devices used to measure the variable factor.

The first study is that of Miss Marjorie J. Walker at the University of Minnesota⁵ and is an investigation of social interaction in young children with special reference to subordination-domination. Among the known and probable causal factors in a subordination-domination situation are the presence of a strong stimulus to produce a struggle

³Mary J. McCormick, "The Measurement of Home Conditions," No. 1, 1929, 23pp.; A Scale for Measuring Social Adequacy, No. 3, 1930, 73 pp.; in Social Science Monographs (Washington, D. C.: National Catholic School of Social Service).

⁴H. C. Brarley, "Experimental Sociology," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXV (1931). This survey of the literature includes many studies which are not strictly experimental studies if the criteria of experimentation developed in the present paper are accepted.

⁵William Isaac and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), pp. 519-520 give a brief résumé of this study which is a doctor of philosophy thesis as yet not published.

situation, absence of diverting stimuli in the situation, and no interference with the behavior of the subjects on the part of other persons. The devices used to hold the causal factors constant were exposing the children, in pairs, to an interesting toy which only one at a time could play with (a nonsocial toy); placing the toy in a room bare of other furnishings; and finally, stationing the observers outside the room behind a screened window where they could observe the children but remain unseen by them. The variable factor to be measured under these conditions of control was subordination-domination behavior. The devices used to measure this variable were defined forms of subordination-domination such as impetuous (nonvocal) behavior, commanding (vocal) behavior, pleading, whimpering, screaming, threatening, and bargaining; tests of the reliability with which different observers reported these different forms of behavior were carefully made; and a stop watch was used to record in intervals of five seconds the duration of these different forms of behavior. As will be seen from Table II, the results showed that successful domination was associated with greater weight and height in the first series of experiments. The number of studies of this sort is increasing and they have taken various forms; it is merely necessary to mention the names of a few to illustrate the range in technique and the types of problems studied, for example, Floyd H. Allport,⁶ C. A. Anderson,⁷ Mildred Parten,⁸ P. A. Sorokin,⁹ and Dorothy S. Thomas and associates.¹⁰

The second type of study illustrates a different technique. In this case we do not have as close an approach to the set-up of a laboratory situation. The experiment is

⁶*Social Psychology* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), Ch. II.

⁷"Social Facilitation and Intelligence," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV (1929), pp. 874-881.

⁸An Analysis of Social Participation, Leadership, and Other Factors in Pre-School Play Groups, University of Minnesota doctor of philosophy thesis, 1929.

⁹"An Experimental Study of Efficiency of Work under Various Specified Conditions," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (1930), pp. 765-782.

¹⁰*Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929), x+ 203 pp.

conducted in a more normal "situation" or a less artificial situation. An example of this type is Earl Hudelson's study of the effect of the size of the class upon the academic achievement of the students in these classes at the University of Minnesota.¹¹ Although the subject of investigation is not as purely sociological as the study of Miss Walker, it nevertheless illustrates a typical variation in experimental work which has great possibilities of application in sociological study. For reasons of space I shall describe only one experiment selected from the total of 59 experiments, involving 108 classes under 21 instructors in 11 departments and 4 colleges, and involving 6,059 students (4,205 in large classes and 1,854 in small classes). Among the known and probable causes of differences in academic achievements of college students are intelligence, scholarship, and method of instruction, as well as whether the class is small or large. Much of our administrative planning in higher education is based on the assumption that students do better work in small classes. The experiments made by Hudelson and his associates attempted to test this assumption in experimental situations. Consequently the devices used to hold constant the causal factors were: obtaining the rating of students on the Miller A test or their percentile rank on the Minnesota college ability test in order to measure intelligence and scholarship; and using the same instructor, text and method of instruction in the large and small classes. The variable factor to be measured was the size of the class; in the case of the one experiment to be described, a large class of 59 students was compared with a small class of 21 students. The device used to measure the difference in achievement of students in the two classes was a final objective test. The results showed a slight advantage in favor of the large class. The mean score on the final of students in the large class was 90.6 and in the small class was 87.7. This experiment involved pairing

¹¹*Class Size at the College Level* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1928), pp. 163-164, 202, 299.

TABLE I

<i>Pairing factors</i>	<i>Small class 21 students</i>	<i>Large class 59 students</i>
1. Mean intelligence score on freshmen test	Subgroup of 11 students 62.5 (31.1 s.d.)	Subgroup of 11 students 61.9 (29.5 s.d.)
2. Mean mark in points	2.56 (0.66 s.d.)	2.55 (0.69 s.d.)
Variable factor of achievement measured by objective final test.....	87.7	90.6

Table 1. Comparison of experimental results in subject group or small class of 21 students with control group or large class of 59 students, in each of which a subgroup of 11 students is matched off for intelligence and marks.

or matching members of the subject group (small class) with members of the control group (large class) for mean intelligence and mean mark (academic grade on studies) in points. Table I shows how the experiment was carried out.

It will be observed that the paired students consisted of 11 in the small class and 11 in the large class whose average scores on the freshman test (college ability test) and average marks in points were practically equal. This illustrates the principle of holding two of the probable causal factors constant. The factor of method of instruction was made constant by using the same instructor, text, methods of teaching, etc., in the two classes. It will be further observed that it was not possible to match up every individual in the small class with a similar individual in the large class, but that the device used was to "imbed" in each class a constituent group of 11 students who were matched for intelligence and for scholarship. This type of experimental study has been widely used in educational research.

The third type of experimental study in sociology illustrates a further departure from the artificial or laboratory control situation. This method is that of comparative analysis by minute subdivision. As an illustration I shall describe Carroll Olson's study of the effect of early religious education in the home upon subsequent participation in church activity among the Latter-Day Saints of Minnesota.¹² Among the known or probable causal factors connected with differences of participation in adult activity of the church are the number of years of secular education and chronological age of the individual. The devices used to measure these two causal factors are obviously number of years per individual. The device used to measure religious activity was a scale based on weights assigned to different forms of participation of members in the varied activities of the church. By using this scale it was possible to obtain a quantitative score for each church participant. The scale was systematically tested for reliability and showed a co-

¹²A Study of the Relation Between Religious Education in the Home and Church Activity and Support Among Latter-Day Saints in Minnesota, master of arts thesis, June, 1928.

efficient of .892.¹³ By holding constant the factor of chronological age, that is, by computing the correlation between years of secular education and scores on church activity for a subgroup of 16 members whose ages ranged from 20 to 27 years (this makes age practically constant since the whole group of 40 range from 16 to 51 years), Olson found a correlation of $\text{Rho} = +.683$. Similarly correlations (Rho) for other subgroups of 9 members at 16 to 19 years, 9 members at 28 to 39 years, and 6 members at 40 to 51 years, showed, respectively, +.517, +.520, and +.217. In other words, by the device of subdividing the whole variable group of 40 members, with ages ranging from 16 to 51 years, into smaller groups, with practically constant age, he could measure the relationship between the number of years of secular education and church activity undisturbed by the third factor, chronological age. It may be suggested that he could have computed the partial correlation coefficient. This indeed was done, as is shown in Table II, column 5, row III, where the first order partial correlation coefficient $r_{12.3} = +.543$ may be compared with the zero order $r_{12} = +.438$. Here we see striking proof of the advantage of holding constant one of the variable factors, for when this is done the real relationship of the two factors is found to be higher; *i.e.*, +.543 instead of +.438. If, now, we compute the weighted average of the Rho coefficients based on the subgroups we obtain +.539, or a figure close to the partial correlation coefficient, which is as it should be.¹⁴ Taking religious education in the home (measured by a weighted scale tested for reliability),¹⁵ Olson found that the relationship between religious education and church activity was +.432. Here again, analysis by minute subdivision, or by partial correlation to hold one factor (secular education) constant, showed a definite effect, this time to decrease the coefficient from +.432 to +.275 (partial first order), or +.339 (weighted average of Rho)

¹³*Op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁴Carrol Olson, *A Study of the Relation Between Religious Education in the Home and Church Activity and Support among Latter-Day Saints in Minnesota*, master of arts thesis, June 1928, pp. 60-61.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

coefficients of three subgroups). The purpose of this analysis is merely to show the effectiveness of holding certain factors constant by the device of minute subdivision into subgroups for which one of three factors studied is constant.

The fourth and final illustration of the use of controlled factors in sociological research is Frank A. Ross's analysis of school attendance in Texas counties in 1920.¹⁸ This study is a straight analysis in terms of the technique of partial correlation. This method is not as trustworthy as that of analysis by minute subdivision because its validity depends upon whether or not the data can meet certain assumptions of normal probability and random sampling. In the former case (Olson's study) it was possible to check the validity of partial correlation analysis by minute subdivision and the check was satisfactory, but this is not often the case. But to return to the Ross study. The probable causal factors connected with school attendance are foreign-bornness, illiteracy, and density of population. Foreign-born parents are not likely to be insistent on regular school attendance. Illiterate parents certainly are not. Sparsity of population as in rural regions is associated with difficulties in getting to school. These factors were measured by computing simple numerical rates, and similarly with school attendance. Ross found that school attendance and density of population were correlated $r_{14} = + .092$, or were practically unrelated. This seemed queer on the surface of it. But what of foreign-bornness and illiteracy? What would happen to the relationship if these factors were held constant? He therefore computed the second order partial correlation coefficient and found $r_{14 \cdot 23} = + .504$. This shows that the real relationship was obscured when two disturbing factors—foreign-bornness and illiteracy—were not held constant. By holding these two factors constant he obtained deeper insight into the causal factors of the problem. Ross's study meets the tests of random sampling better than many studies in which partial correlation technique is used, because we find that coeffi-

¹⁸School Attendance in 1920, United States Census Monograph Series (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), Appendix A, pp. 207-230.

TABLE I
CRITERIA OF EXPERIMENTAL METHOD APPLIED TO FOUR TYPE STUDIES

S t u d y	1 Probable causal fac- tors in situation $X_2, X_a, X_s,$	2 Devices used to hold these factors con- stant	3 Variable factor to be measured X_1	4 Devices used to meas- ure the variable factor	5 Results
I	1. Inciting stimulus 2. Diverting stimulus 3. Observer's inter- ference 4. Weight 5. Height 6. ? 7. ?	1. One nonsocial toy at a time 2. Bare room 3. Observers con- cealed	Form of behavior in struggle situation for possession of the toy	1. Definition of be- havior of 7 objec- tive types 2. Stop watch by 5 seconds 3. Tests for reli- ability	1. Correlation of mean scores for possession of toy with weight $r=.69$ 2. With height $r=.77$ Slightly in favor of large class Large section 90.6 Small section 87.7
II	1. Size of class 2. Intelligence of stu- dents 3. Instruction 4. ? 5. ? 6. ? 7. ?	1. A large section of 56, a small section of 21 2. Percentile rank of freshman test 3. Same method in- struction	Achievement	Final objective test	$r_{12} = +.438$ $r_{23} = -.468$ $r_{13} = +.086$ $r_{123} = +.543$
III	1. Number years sec- ular education 2. Age 3. Distance from church 4. ? 5. ? 6. ?	1. Years 2. Age in years	Religious activity	Weights assigned to attendance on re- ligious services	School attendance rate, 7 to 13 years of age
IV	1. Foreign-bornness 2. Illiteracy 3. Density of popula- tion 4. Tenancy	1. Per cent foreign born 2. Per cent illiterate 21 and over 3. Density per square	School attendance	$r_{14} = +.092$ $r_{1423} = +.504$ $r_{13} = +.847$ $r_{23} = +.838$	

cients worked on the universe from which his sample was selected are closely similar to his.

This study may now be summarized by turning to Table II where the four types of variation in experimental control are compared. Number I is the Walker study, II is the Hudelson study, III is the Olson study, and IV is the Ross study. It will be observed that there are two main methods of obtaining controls.

The first method is that of direct control of the factors in the situation by manipulation of objects or persons present to sense perception. This is illustrated by the set-up of a laboratory situation (an artificial situation) as in the studies of Walker, Parten, Thomas, Anderson, and Sorokin. A variation of this method with the use of a subject group and a control group in which the individuals are paired or matched for certain attributes is used by Hudelson.

The second method is that of indirect control of the factors in a situation by manipulation of the symbols of the objects or persons not present to sense perception. This is illustrated by the sorting out of factors for analysis and comparison by minute subdivision as in the Olson study, or the partial correlation technique used by Ross.

Finally, a few words of caution should be said. It will be observed in column 1 of Table II that other causal factors may be present. It is possible that important causal factors may have been missed. Another limitation to the present techniques of experimental method is that the assumed constants may not be real constants. For example, the chronological age of 21 does not mean the same mental, moral, or economic age, and yet two persons of 21 are often regarded as of equal age. The third limitation is that the variable factor may not have been properly measured. Dorothy S. Thomas¹⁷ has discussed this subject recently at some length. But in spite of these limitations the experimental method holds great promise for the sociologist.

¹⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 84, and "The Observability of Social Phenomena with Respect to Statistical Analysis," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXV (1931).

A PROJECT FOR A STUDY OF THE AREA OF SOCIAL CONTACTS

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

The project about to be described deals with the territorial distribution of social contacts.¹ Our primary interest in their relative territorial concentration or scatter. The investigation is still in the stage of preliminary experimentation with methods, and such results as appear are tentative, pending further research. If there is any justification for presenting so unripe a product, it is that a statement of our strategy and tactics may suggest methodological problems of some interest. Besides, since the present issue of the JOURNAL is to function as a kind of a clearing house of current research, the contribution of our program of research, even in the absence of conclusive results, may be in order.

We shall first consider briefly the theoretical setting of the study and then pass to the more specific problems of proposed methodology and research techniques. The tremendous extension of the area of social contacts of individuals and groups is one of the most spectacular and significant facts of social change in recent times. The change is due to the improvements in the means of transportation and communication. It may be more correct to say that the change was effected through the above named agencies, since the total explanation is to be sought in a whole complex of economic and social factors. The phenomenon has such far-reaching implications that the point of view of a brief discussion must of necessity be focused upon only some of the aspects of the total situation. One such focus may be the breakdown of the neighborhood in an urban environment.

It is a matter of common observation that the neighborhood of the great city is no longer the area of social inter-

¹The study is carried on under the direction of Dorothy Swaine Thomas of Yale Institute of Human Relations.

course of its residence, no longer the "larger family" which it has been and still is to some extent in smaller communities. This primary group, with its intimate personal relationships and numerous common functions, has disintegrated so completely that, in some apartment or boarding-house areas of the city, the residents are not even acquainted with one another. Their associates are not their neighbors but individuals scattered throughout the city or a still wider area.

The most generally referred to effect of this change is what might be called the breakdown of provincialism. A wide scatter of contacts is likely to mean contacts with a variety of phenomena, standards, and values. It would thus tend to broaden the intellectual horizon, weaken dogmatism, favor skepticism, undermine implicit subordination to the traditional pattern of a single group, and individualize conduct to an extent. This individualization of conduct for good or evil will be due also to the absence of a strong pressure to conform to the mores of the group which any primary group exerts upon its members, supervising their lives continuously and directly at practically all points. "It is probably," to quote from Robert E. Park's article on "The City,"² "the breakdown of local attachments and the weakening of restraints and inhibitions of the primary group under the influences of the urban environment, which are largely responsible for the increase of vice and crime in great cities."

This is not to mean, of course, that city inhabitants are altogether free from social restraints, but merely that those, hitherto imposed by the neighborhood, are no longer effective. Other groupings replace the neighborhood in the life of the city dweller, each with its own institutions and codes. But these appear to touch the individual only at some definite points, centered as most of them are about specialized interests. The relation of the individual to these groups is frequently partial and impersonal and alto-

gether his position in the community more anonymous. These groups have little claim upon the individual member outside their limited spheres of activity. Besides, their codes may actually be in some conflict with one another and with the codes of the family. All this operates, to repeat, to undermine the sway of custom, and allow wider scope for individualization. The evaluation of gains and losses consequent upon this process need not concern us here. Besides, we can only surmise at present what these may be. If there results a liberation of the individual from the rigidity of customary regulation, there may also result a complete disintegration of any socially desirable code of behavior. If there is a loss in intimacy and security of social relations, there may be a gain in selectivity. That is, relations are no longer thrust upon one by virtue of mere contiguity but may be more deliberately selective on the basis of the individual's interests.

The effects of the decentralization of contacts upon the development of social attitudes are, undoubtedly, very significant. It is sufficient to contrast a closely knit neighborhood "which involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which 'we' is the natural expression" with an apartment hotel or a boarding house to see that each would provide an extremely different milieu conditioning social attitudes. Is the city making for a more self-centered, individualized personality, more aloof, impersonal, superficial in social relations, less capable of a complete identification with a group? It may be, of course, that other agencies have taken over the functions performed by the neighborhood.

The breakdown of the neighborhood does not ^{entirely} affect the sociological implications of the extension of the area of social contacts. A similar process can be observed on a larger scale. Just as the relative isolation of the neighborhood has been broken down so has, in a degree, the isolation of various social regions until the area of social contacts

of men, wherever they may be, bids fair to cover the world itself.

Some of the existing investigations approach the problem from the point of view of gross mobility or communication—usually in terms of increasing utilization of various means of communication and transportation. Others take a particular group or a culture area as the starting point, as, for example, the neighborhood or the village community.

The focus of this investigation is the individual and the immediate aim is to devise some measure of the extensiveness of his social contacts.

Up to the present, our study deals with only a segment of social contacts of the individual, such as are usually implied in the phrase "social intercourse." A complete account should include other categories of contacts, as, for example, those on the economic basis involved in work, shopping, etc. The term contact may be even extended still further to include more impersonal contacts with events and personalities through the press and the radio.

As indices of the territorial distribution of contacts we have selected the following: (1) residence (country, city, street, and number) of friends and acquaintances; (2) addresses involved in personal correspondence and out-of-town telephone calls for a specified unit of time; (3) residence of visitors and of persons visited by the informant; (4) location of public places visited, addresses of persons who have accompanied the informant to such; (5) organizations the informant belongs to with places of meetings and addresses of other members.

The method used at the outset of the study was the questionnaire method. The informant was asked to state as completely and accurately as possible the data in question for the past month. In addition to the above stated data, the questionnaire called for a residential history of the informant including, of course, his present address, addresses of all his relatives, information as to sex, marital status, age, nationality, occupation, and education. No names

whatsoever appear on the questionnaire. To ensure complete anonymity the informant was given the privilege of stating the addresses in terms of blocks without giving the exact street number. It may be that some clandestine relations or visits to socially disapproved places were not always recorded. But it is hardly probable that much information was deliberately withheld.

It will be readily observed that the questionnaire yields a quantitative estimate of the scatter of contacts in such terms as distance from residence in blocks or miles; proportion of total contacts in the same or adjacent neighborhood, city, state, or country as contrasted with the percentage in other cities, states, countries, than those in which the informant resides; total number of different addresses; total number of different cities, states, countries involved in visiting; correspondence, etc.

The questionnaire passed through several editions until it appeared to give unambiguous and objectively stated data.

We were, however, confronted with the problem of estimating the error involved in a retrospect statement. The unreliability of an account from memory may underestimate the total quantity of contacts and also distort their distribution.

The solution seemed to be in using a more refined if less generally applicable technique on a smaller scale and comparing it with the questionnaire. A wide difference of results obtained by the two methods would indicate the unreliability of the questionnaire and give us an estimate of the margin of error involved.

A group of adults, for whom we already had questionnaires, kept daily records of contacts for a period of two weeks. Estimating these in terms of a month, and comparing corresponding values, it appeared that the questionnaire gave a considerably smaller total quantity of visits, letters, etc., but a slightly higher territorial scatter. To illustrate, the mean number of letters of the daily records was 80 to 44 of the questionnaire; the mean number of

visits 52 to 41 of the questionnaire, mean number of visits to public places was 20 and 13. With regard to the scatter, however, the questionnaire gave slightly higher results—15 and 12 for the mean number of different addresses in visiting, 9.6 and 8 for the number of addresses in mail, 3.3 and 2.5 for total number of states in visiting, and so on. We anticipated a closer agreement on the scatter than on the quantity of contacts. But how to explain the slightly higher scatter of the questionnaire results? Is a two-week period too brief to reveal the full scatter of contacts? Are the differences due to the variability in the data from month to month?

To attempt a solution of these problems we have undertaken a study of the relative consistency of the occurrences in question from time to time. A group of thirty adults was secured to keep daily records of contacts for a period of four months. The results of this study analyzed by monthly and fortnightly periods will throw light on the above problem of methods and will direct our sampling procedure.

Parallel to these methodological studies we have carried on an investigation of a few New Haven groups. Admittedly inconclusive, open to criticism on the basis of imperfect sampling and small numbers, the results are, however, suggestive of the use to which we intended to put our tools and will be considered below.

Generally speaking, we intend to study the area of contacts from the point of view of its variation for various social groups and social regions. If one were brave enough to talk of causation instead of correlation, one might say "to study the causes and the effects of an extended or a limited area of contacts." The groups that were available for study and for which data have been collected include a women's "society" club, a local chapter of a well-known exclusive "society" organization, women stenographers and secretaries of Yale University, men students of engineering and commerce of a Young Men's Christian Association eve-

ning college, and various groups of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association of New Haven. It is obvious that (with the exception of the last named groups which will be considered below) these are not comparisons of nicely controlled situations throwing light on the significance of one or two factors. They are admittedly crude general comparisons between, however, fairly homogeneous and clearly defined groups. Let us consider two sets of results which show most striking differences. These are, as might be expected, the women's "society" club and the men students of the evening college.

The data are based upon questionnaires filled for one month. Only some items are considered in the following table.

TABLE I

WOMEN'S CLUB	STUDENTS OF THE Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE
Previous residential mobility of the informant	
Total number of states and countries in which the informant has resided for three or more months	
	<i>States</i>
Mode	3 states
Mean	2.9 states
Residence in one or more foreign countries for three or more months	
30 per cent of 26	.5 per cent of 67

Note: The changes of address of the students appear to be changes in *residence*, while for the club, changes of address appear to be temporary visits, travel, years at college, with the permanent home address parallel to the others and, frequently, the last residence indicated.

Scatter of Friends

Number of different states in which friends reside		
Range	2 to 10 states	1 to 8 states
Mode	5 states	1 state
Mean	2.6 states	1.6 states
Number of friends in one or more foreign countries		only one case in 67
35 per cent of 26		

Scatter of Visits

Total number of states in visiting		
Range	1 to 8 states	1 to 4 states
Mode	3 states	1 state
Mean	3 states	1.5 states

TABLE I (*continued*)

WOMEN'S CLUB STUDENTS OF THE Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE

Number of Different Addresses in Visiting

Range	1 to 30 addresses	1 to 26 addresses
Mean	14 addresses	7.5 addresses

Scatter of the Mail

Total number of states and countries

States

Range	1 to 8 states	1 to 8 states
Mode	4 states	2 states
Mean	4.1 states	2 states

Correspondents in one or more foreign countries

38 per cent 11 per cent

Total number of different addresses in correspondence

Range	1 to 25 addresses	1 to 20 addresses
Mean	10 addresses	4.6 addresses

Quantity of Visits

Range	10 to 90 visits	0 to 94 visits
Mode	40-50 visits	(30-40) and (10-20) visits
Mean	41 visits	20 visits

Compare with the above the data on the women stenographers and secretaries of Yale University.

TABLE II

Total number of states and countries in which the informant resided for three or more months

States

Range	1 to 4 states
Mode	1 state
Mean	2.2 states

1 foreign country residence in 29 cases

Scatter of Friends

Range	1 to 9 states
Mode	4 states
Mean	4.5 states

2 cases of foreign residence in 29 cases

Scatter of Visits

Range	1 to 4 states
Mode	1 state
Mean	1.5 states

Number of Different Addresses in Visiting

Range	1 to 20 different addresses
Mode	5 to 10 different addresses
Mean	9 different addresses

TABLE II (*continued*)

Total number of states and countries in which the informant resided for three or more months

Scatter of Mail

Range	1 to 9	states
Mode	4	states
Mean	3.8	states

Number of Different Addresses in Mail

Range	1 to 20	addresses
Mode	(1 to 5 states)	and (5 to 10 addresses)
Mean	7.5	addresses

Total Number of Visits

Range	1 to 40	visits
Mode	(10 to 20)	and (20 to 30) visits
Mean	18	visits

Total number of letters

Range	1 to 52	letters
Mode	10 to 15	letters
Mean	20	letters

The groups of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. were selected more deliberately to throw light on the sex factor in social contacts. We had the extraordinary fortune of finding two groups matched very closely for a number of characteristics, although somewhat limited in numbers. The two clubs are sister organizations made up of friends and relatives. Both men and women are Italian, single, about the same age group (men somewhat older, average age 25 and 21.4), all gainfully employed with a concentration in factory and skilled trades. It appears that the economic and social status is fairly uniform. The results, unfortunately, are not as yet available. It will be of interest to find out what differences would appear in the quantity, pattern, and scatter of contacts between young men and women. A generation or so ago young men had far more opportunity and freedom for greater mobility and a wider radius of contacts. If this were found to be true at present, it would be interesting to speculate upon its possible relation to such alleged sex differences as greater conventionality or narrow-mindedness of women. Incidentally, this matter is an illustration of

circular causation which is so frequent in social life. The mores limiting woman's freedom to "roam about," narrow her area of contacts, which in turn, contributes to her conventionality and perpetuation of these mores. The problem, of course, requires a more refined formulation. It is probable that women of upper and middle classes not gainfully employed would give a higher quantity and wider range of contacts than the corresponding group of men for the reason that cultivation of contacts is, perhaps, their major pursuit. We must remember that our method taps only a certain kind of contact. Contacts in the economic sphere would certainly have to be included for any such comparisons as the above. Even if, however, no significant differences would appear between men and women when other factors were held constant, there still may be differences in the population at large because of the different incidence of these factors in the total population of men and women.

The priority of the study of the sex factor is due to the availability of the data and is not reflecting our view of its relative importance. The factor that, *a priori*, appears to be of much greater significance is the economic factor, especially as it affects mobility. Unfortunately, our indices of the scatter of contacts cannot be applied to a number of extremely mobile groups, as drifting unskilled labor, the sailor, the hobo, and others. On the whole, however, it would seem that the higher the economic level the greater the scatter as gauged by our indices. The worker has neither the means nor the leisure for travel or maintenance of active relations with widely scattered individuals. Take as an extreme case a wealthy business man, whose wife may purchase her clothes in Paris, who lives miles away from his place of work, with a summer residence in a different part of the country if not in a foreign country, etc., etc. A series of projected studies of various economic and occupational groups ought to reveal interesting facts. Other factors, the

importance of which it is intended to test, are marital status, age, nationality.

In addition to the above named studies we intend to approach the problem from the point of view of various social regions—cities and towns of various sizes and types (as a suburban community, for example). These studies may emphasize the intercommunity distribution of contacts and throw light on the different status of the neighborhood under various conditions.

A few words, in conclusion, with regard to the interpretation of results. Explanation may be nothing else but accurate and complete description but the kind of description that the projects outlined above can be expected to produce will be but the first step towards the understanding of our problem. The various differentials and uniformities that will be established will require interpretation. In many cases the validity of plausible interpretations will have to be tested by appropriate new studies. In other words, we will have to face the questions of "why?" and "what of it?" Let us take as an illustration the table cited on page 558. The club members have a very much wider area of contacts, as shown by every one of our indices, than the students. But it would be hazardous to draw any conclusions from this fact alone. After all, the wide area of contacts has the significance ascribed to it in the introduction only if it means diversification of contacts as well. Because of a certain exclusiveness the contacts of the club members, though wide in area, may be very limited in kind. A group with a radius of a metropolitan area may actually have much more diversified associations. But no investigator who ever tackled a significant sociological problem will find these difficulties exceptional. Exasperating and discouraging as they may be at times—they are a challenge to the social scientist.

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH ON THE PACIFIC COAST

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

There was not much coöperative research in the social-science fields on the Pacific Coast before 1923. In that year, however, culture conflicts between Orientals and Americans reached a climax of intensity up and down the Coast. It was this conflict that gave the social setting for an extensive piece of coöperative research.

The invasion of the Japanese had aroused an increasing degree of unfavorable reactions towards them. While a number of Americans were openly expressing their prejudice against the Orientals, there were other Americans who felt that the Japanese were being unjustifiably insulted. While these "fair-play" Americans did not want the Pacific Coast "to be overrun by the Japanese," they felt that there was a better method of solving the problem than by heaping abuse upon the newcomers. They sensed their helplessness in the face of a rising tide of antagonism to the Japanese; and so urged that an investigation of the problem be made, feeling that a scientific inquiry would undermine much of the unfair tactics of those opposed to the Japanese.

The "fair-play" group¹ succeeded in enlisting the interest of the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York City. In consequence Dr. Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago appeared on the Pacific Coast as the research representative of the Institute and as the informal generalissimo of a race relations survey.

The "fair-play" Americans, however, were hardly prepared for Dr. Park's methods of research. They wanted extensive publicity; they planned to advertise the survey widely. In this way they hoped to enlist the interest and help, financial and otherwise, of large numbers of people, but this was not the kind of "coöperative research" that

¹Of whom Mr. J. Merle Davis of the Young Men's Christian Association and Institute of Pacific Relations fame was a prominent leader.

the director, Dr. Park, had in mind. A reform movement had been desired, but the director was interested first of all in a scientific analysis of the total social or racial situation.

The director of the survey came quietly, moved up and down the Coast without any public announcement, and inaugurated a thoroughgoing piece of coöperative research. He went to the colleges and universities from Vancouver to San Diego. He sought out those who were interested in social research, and without building any formal organization, and without publicity, he united the research workers in a genuine and real coöperative movement. He developed an unassuming, but dynamic enthusiasm by getting each social research person whom he could find to work each in his own best way in the coöperative enterprise. He came, discovered what each research person was most interested in as far as the racial problem in hand was concerned, and suggested what he might do. He came, saw, and started each person at work coöperatively. He told each what the others were doing and thus, without starting any formal contest, awakened constructive competition. As each learned how the others were working, what techniques the others were developing, his own initiative was stimulated and his efforts redoubled. College professors in the Coast institutions developed a new zest, their classes received new ideas, and their graduate students started new research studies that were related to the general scheme.

No special salaries or large funds were available, but participation in this informal and coöperative research more than repaid the professors and their advanced students for their time and effort. Here and there a special investigator for a short time or in a part-time capacity was employed to gather data that the regular research workers did not have the time to gather or could not travel far enough to secure. Lack of adequate funds was serious but not fatal.

In this coöperative research two procedures were followed: (1) collecting and analyzing statistics and (2) in-

terviewing and case analysis. The gathering of data for statistical purposes had a twofold angle. The first was the securing of materials already available in various places, such as census documents, federal, State, and local departmental reports, including annual reports from public-welfare offices, courts, jails and prisons, probation offices, health offices; private agency reports, such as those of settlements, of the Y. M. C. A. and similar organizations, the Big Brothers, and farmers' organizations. It is amazing how much material is hidden away in a hundred places regarding a single social problem. Some of it is inaccurate or incomplete, but it is all indicative; some of it is out-of-date, but valuable for comparative and historical purposes. Much of it is hard to interpret, but an expert statistician can do wonders with it without doing violence to it. The transforming of it into charts and graphs is no small trick, but again an expert can make dry statistics throb with life. Blue prints of many of the charts and graphs were made in the Pacific Race Relations Survey, and distributed to all the main university centers of research.

The other angle to the statistician's work is that of gathering new data, current data, and data to fill in the chinks in the statistics derived from public and private reports. In the race relations survey, this work was parcelled out to those best fitted and most interested. Wherever feasible the gathering of new statistical data may be assigned to statistical experts in public offices. Their work is often flexible enough to allow them to undertake as a regular part of their work the gathering of data needed in a private research undertaking.

The second main research procedure was the gathering and analyzing of case materials. These data did not come from case work or family-welfare agencies but rather from new and independent sources. Materials were gathered by interviews and life-history guides.² Life histories of im-

²A life-history guide is different from a questionnaire in that it is to be kept by the research person and not given out to the interviewee. It contains a set of suggestions to be followed by the interviewer, not rigidly, but as a guide to making the interview as thoroughly as possible.

migrants proved to be the salvation of the race relations survey. A small number of copies of the life-history documents was made and distributed to the main coöperating universities, where they were placed in reference libraries and kept for special reference and confidential use only. The life histories gave life to statistical reports; they furnished meanings for those statistics that otherwise would have remained meaningless. They revealed heart yearnings, complexes, harsh experiences, prejudices. They furnished valuable "leads" to additional statistical and case materials.

One of the chief values of this coöperative research project was the new momentum that graduate work in all the participating institutions received. Each of the given research projects was seen not as an isolated undertaking but as a part of a larger whole. Each was seen as a part of a research attack that was being carried forward on several fronts simultaneously. Each loomed up as a part of an analysis of a gigantic and everchanging Pacific Coast social situation. Each had possibilities of making at least a slight contribution to an understanding of a never-ending social process. Each, if pieced together with all the others, might reveal hidden meanings of the constantly changing human relationships on the Coast.

Out of this coöperative research there developed what has been called the social-research clinic. The clinic is not primarily a place where finished seminar reports are given, although it may become a superseminar. It has novel functions. A graduate student works on his research problem until he is at loss how to proceed. Perhaps even the professor under whom he is working is baffled. Thereupon he brings his dilemma before the clinic. The other research persons, graduate students and faculty alike, gather about informally and in the rôle of "doctors" make diagnoses and arrive if possible at a consensus of opinion regarding procedure. Sometimes the student has mapped out his procedure involving considerable time, money, and work. He brings these plans before the clinic in order to test them

out, to find out their weak spots, to perfect them in every possible way, before launching upon an expensive undertaking.

The superseminar character of the clinic is also most valuable, for at intervals the research representatives of more than one academic department may come together for discussion of a coöperatively planned research problem. The social research clinic is occasionally visited by graduate students or faculty representatives from outside the traditional social-science field.

The retroactive effects of coöperative research are most noticeable. Each research worker tries to be intelligible to the others in related fields. Each may be skeptical of the work of the others. Each fails at one or more points to take the others as seriously as they take themselves. Each occasionally goes beyond the depth of the others. Instead of a graduate student working under the direction of one professor, the clinic enables him to work in coöperation with many professors and graduate colleagues. The clinic even sets the professors on their toes in friendly and constructive competition. Each participant in the clinic is forced to devise new techniques and to stretch himself up to his full research height.

The coöperative race relations survey on the Coast demonstrated the superiority of the new research methods over the traditional survey methods, although the title of "survey" was assumed at the beginning for conventional reasons and in order not to seem to promise too much. In order to remain objective, survey methods have been content to collect and classify overt facts, but the new social research has undertaken the tabooed procedure of penetrating hidden subjective fields of experiences and the resultant attitudes and has attempted to make these attitudes objective and measurable.

Coöperative research on the Coast has commandeered the social-welfare agencies. In being asked for access to their records, they have been stimulated to improve their

record-keeping activities. Some have openly called for help from the research workers. Others have quietly gone about making improvements. As a result social research and social-welfare agencies have been coming closer to each other into at least a semblance of coöperation.

Coöperative research on the Coast has proceeded from "within." While people from outside the area have been of inestimable stimulus and help, the main emphasis has been to get the people on the Coast to study their own problems. Reformers within the area at first took great heart, then fell into dismay when research was stressed at the expense of reform, but now are beginning to see the dawn of a new day. They were heartened at first because they thought that they saw the millennium just ahead; they were soon dismayed, for they thought that research was hard-boiled; they are now encouraged, for they are catching the larger meanings of the new coöperative research.

Coöperative research on the Coast is now going forward under the aegis of the Social Science Research Council; it is in charge of the Pacific Coast Regional Committee³ of the Social Science Research Council. The work that had been done in earlier years in connection with the race relations survey, beginning in 1923, laid the foundations for the present developments. These are now being promoted in a coördinated way throughout the length of the Coast, and in particular ways in the main universities, where active centers of research are growing up and where permanent programs are being established. Instead of research being left to feed on academic crumbs as in the past, it is now being given primary consideration, a regular budget, and an assignment of hours on teachers' schedules. In consequence a new research day is dawning both in local institutions and in the Pacific Coast area as a whole.

³The present head of the Committee is President Arnold Bennett Hall of the University of Oregon.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND STUDIES

MILDRED PARTEN

All research upon social groups involves the problem of sampling. The applicability of the generalizations from studies of special groups to other groups or to all human beings depends upon the extent to which the persons studied are representative of certain types or of individuals as a whole. The more traits or combinations of traits the groups investigated have in common with those not investigated, the greater is the probability that the findings regarding the former will also hold true for the latter. In other words, the real significance of the generalizations from research projects is dependent upon the degree to which the subjects are representative of the universe of discourse. Social scientists have been greatly handicapped in the past because of the dearth of information about the general run of the population. Research has been directed upon particular groups which for some reason or other presented specific social problems. As a result, very little is known about the "unaffected" elements of the population.

The Social Background Studies of New Haven were organized to provide this general population material. Under the direction of Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Professor Donald Slesinger, the plans for these studies were developed.¹ New Haven was selected for study because many other of the research projects of the Institute of Human Relations are directed upon the population of this city. Furthermore, the population of about 160,000 individuals (36,320 families) lends itself readily to statistical treatment. The Studies have developed along several lines; namely, basic population studies, regional studies, residential mobility studies, sample family investigations, and analyses of the reliability of sources, each of which will

¹The studies are being carried on by the writer with Dr. D. S. Thomas and Dr. Mark May advising.

be described in more detail. Briefly, the aim of these studies is to establish norms of family structure, relationships, behavior, and vital processes among various classes and groups of the New Haven population. These data on families should:

1. Serve as a base for the determination of differential rates among various age, nationality, regional, and economic groups.
2. Be of assistance to persons undertaking new research projects for selecting families which are representative of the entire population, or for finding "control groups" with which to pair families being studied.
3. Throw light on "normal" family structure and behavior so that it will be possible to place any given case with reference to the group to which it belongs. Norms on the incidence of group leadership, mobility, wage earners, children, marriages, divorce, etc., among certain economic, regional, and nationality groups should establish a point of reference for case studies of socially unadjusted families.
4. Provide various economic and social indices which will be short-cut methods of selecting significant elements in family composition and behavior. The extent to which occupations, residential mobility, nationality, etc., are indicative of other factors may be determined through the inter-correlation of different types of data.

With these aims in mind, it seemed advisable to decide upon a unit of investigation, both for the population and for its geographical distribution. In view of the influential rôle played by the family upon the health, mental and social behavior of the individual, most scientific investigators have come to realize that individuals should be studied in relation to the setting which determines and modifies their behavior. In social investigations the individual is seldom studied without reference to the social milieu in which he lives. His behavior cannot be interpreted or controlled unless his family and neighborhood group are taken into consideration. Furthermore, many assumptions are made

about the composition of the family but most general statistics of population are in terms of the individual and comparatively little is known about the average family or families. The average family obtained by statistical manipulation of the figures of individuals consists of two adults and three children. More critical studies have revealed the fallacy and inadequacy of this mean as a norm. Reference will be made to the New Haven findings subsequently. In view of the inadequacy of available family data and of the recognized need for descriptions of the general run of families, the unit of population investigation, classification, and analysis decided upon was the family.

In order to throw light on neighborhood influences, the geographic distribution of families had to be expressed in constant terms. The units decided upon were the block and the census enumeration district. The United States Federal Census gives the most detailed statistics which have been assembled regarding all the New Haven families. In 1920, the form, or summarizing sheet, grouped the families into 104 enumeration districts, the area usually canvassed by a single census investigator. The advantage of using the enumeration district as the basic geographical unit lay in the fact that both the 1920 and the 1930 census material could be obtained for those districts. (This will provide the basis for studies of change in the population of various sections of the city.) The enumeration districts present a further advantage in that they may be subdivided into blocks which have already been numbered by the census geographer, or the districts may be combined to fit into the 33 city wards without much overlapping. This makes it possible to use data which are available for wards only, and to relate them to the census material. Family data are collected and located by blocks, if possible, because no enumeration district is as homogeneous in as many respects as are the blocks within that district. In population den-

sity computations, the number of acres covered by each district are taken into consideration in order to make the areas comparable.

As stated above, the background studies have been approached from several angles, such as demographic, regional, and case investigations. The basic population data have been obtained from two main sources, the United States Bureau of the Census and a New Haven public-utility company.

Unfortunately, all published tabulations of the United States Census are made in terms of individuals, even though the information is collected and summarized by families. For this reason, it was necessary to procure a special retabulation of the New Haven material for the background studies. The number of families possessing certain characteristics were counted for each enumeration district and combinations of these family relationships were tabulated for the city as a whole. Such a family tabulation had not been attempted before; therefore, the extent to which the tables might show significant relationships were not to be gauged in advance. Little was known about the range of variation which existed with reference to the various traits, or to the incidence of certain characteristics in the general family population. The desirability of eliminating several tabulations and of going into more detail with other tables had been revealed in this "ground-breaking" investigation.

The following tabulations were made for each enumeration district:

1. *Number of each type of family.* (The family is defined as a group of related individuals living together at the home investigated.) The percentage each type formed

TABLE I
PER CENT OF EACH TYPE OF FAMILY

Type of Family	Percentage of total families
Husband and wife.....	15.1
Husband, wife, and children.....	41.4

PER CENT OF EACH TYPE OF FAMILY

Type of family	Percentage of total families
Man and children.....	.7
Woman and children.....	2.3
Husband, wife, and relatives.....	7.5
Husband, wife, children, and relatives.....	15.3
Man alone.....	1.7
Woman alone.....	3.1
Man or woman and relatives.....	7.7
Man, children, and relatives.....	1.1
Woman, children, and relatives.....	3.0
Unrelated6

of the total families in New Haven is indicated in the right-hand column of the above table. While the family composed of a husband, wife, and children is the most prevalent, it includes only 41 per cent of the families.

2. *Number of families having children under five years, ten years, and twenty-one years along with the number of such children.* Table II shows the number of children under 21 years of age in families of husband, wife, and chil-

TABLE II
NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY

Children per family in husband-wife-child- ren family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Percentage of families.....	29	26	17	11	7	4	3	1	.9

dren. Table II shows that the most frequent type is the one-child family. On the other hand, the mean number of children is 2.74 per family. This approximates the "statistically normal" family of three children which was referred to earlier in this article. The mode conforms more closely to reality than does this mean.

3. *Age of oldest child in the family.* This information was grouped into the following classes: under 6 years, 6 to 13, 14 and 15, and 16 to 20 years, inclusive. This particular classification was used to make the age grouping comparable to that collected in other States. It was thought that these data ought to be significant when related to the gainful employment of the mother and of the children.

4. *Number and relationship of gainful workers in the family.* This information was tabulated because it was

thought desirable to know who the wage earners were in families of various types. To what extent do women without children work as compared to women with children? Questions such as this one will be answered for New Haven families when the analysis of these census tables has been made.

5. *Number of persons in the family.* The numbers of persons in the family, from one to twelve members, were arranged in a table. The criterion of the term "family," which was used, excluded unrelated individuals living under the same roof, such as boarders and lodgers. The latter were included under "household." Preliminary analysis of this data showed that the most numerous families were composed of two and three persons. The proportion of families of each number is shown in Table III.

TABLE III

FREQUENCY OF VARIOUS SIZED FAMILIES

Persons in family.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12+
Percentage of families...	3.18	20.19	14.10	7.	4.	2.	1.	.78	1.			

6. *Number of persons in the household.* A further tabulation of the number of persons in the household showed the three-person household to be most prevalent.

7. *Tenure of home of the families.* The tenure of home of the families was grouped as: rented, owned free of mortgage, owned mortgaged, owned mortgage status not reported, tenure unknown. This material was secured for the enumeration districts and was to be used in developing economic indices for the various areas of the city.

8. *Man at head of family.* For the man at the head of the family, more detailed information such as color, nativity, age, marital status, country of birth, and occupation was obtained. The information on country of birth was arranged into twelve classes based upon the knowledge which already existed regarding the predominant nationalities of adult individuals in New Haven. The grouping of occupations utilized was a slight variation of the Note-

stein² classification which is primarily an occupational rather than an industrial grouping. The regular census classification is unsatisfactory as it does not differentiate between various occupational levels within industry, and when it does so, the number of occupations extends into the hundreds. The Notestein grouping was modified to fit the New Haven situation where certain types of positions, such as college professor, occur more frequently than in the country as a whole. Such occupations were placed in separate categories.

9. *Homemaker or woman at head of family.* The same types of data as above were obtained for the homemaker. In addition, a notation was made to indicate whether or not the homemaker was presumably the mother of the children. The analysis of this material has not yet been made.

The possible combinations of these tables are very numerous; so to begin with, only relationships which, a priori, seemed to be significant were tabulated. The mass of material supplied should be valuable for demographic studies of various nationality, occupational, and age groups. At the present time, however, these census data are of most importance to the regional studies which will be described next.

The investigation of the geographical distribution of various types of families developed into the regional studies.³ These analyses grouped families into various economic areas, districts characterized by social dependency, social forces and leadership, certain nationality and age groupings, and areas of stability and instability.

Data for the economic characterization of districts were obtained from several sources, the most extensive being a rent survey conducted by the Southern New England Telephone Company in 1925. The investigation consisted in

²F. W. Notestein and E. Sydenstricker, "Differential Fertility According to Social Class," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XV (March 1930), pp. 9-33.

³Since considerable material was being assembled for families at certain addresses, a necessary step in the analysis seemed to be the classification of these addresses into blocks and districts. For this purpose, a street directory was devised which classified every address in the city into the appropriate enumeration district and block number.

a house-to-house canvass, in which the amount of rent paid and telephone subscription were determined. This material which is classified by blocks provides the most complete economic data of the background studies. When the 1930 census material on rents for districts can be secured, it will be possible to study neighborhood changes of rent which have taken place during the intervening five years.

An interesting analysis of the relationship between telephone subscription and rent of districts was made. The correlation between the average rent of the enumeration districts and the percentage of families subscribing to telephones was found to be $.93 \pm .01$. This correlation was obtained for several subsamples as well; so that it might be concluded that the proportion of telephone subscribers is a reliable economic index of a district.

Another approach to the study of economic areas is the study of the incidence of social dependency in enumeration districts. The distribution of various social problem cases such as the unemployed, the delinquents, the deserters, the indigent poor, etc., will be included in this analysis.

At the other economic level will be found the leaders of industry, education, city government, and clubs. Addresses of directors of corporations, individuals appearing in Who's Who, school teachers, college faculty, officers of the city government, and leaders of social organizations will be located on the New Haven map, and regional comparisons made.

Reference has already been made to the census material which is grouped into enumeration districts. The nationality and age groupings should be especially valuable for the determination of differential rates of vital processes in districts. Birth, death, marriage, and divorce rates will be computed and plotted for each section of the city, so that relationships between these and other regional factors may be brought to light.

A further most important investigation, closely related to both the population and the regional studies, is the study

of mobility within the city. Through splendid coöperation, the records of a public-utility company of New Haven were made accessible to us. The firm keeps a record of every change of address of its patrons. The files include a record of over 95 per cent of the families in the city. We were permitted to copy the following information for each residence: name and occupation of the head of the family, address, whether apartment or residence, and dates of residence. The occupation was filled in by the applicant for the service, so the information was not adequate in all cases. Successive residences of each family were filed together so that it would be possible to trace the relationship of movements.

Because of the arrangement of the files of the utility company, it seemed advisable to limit the study to changes in residence after 1924. Families who lived at their present address in 1923, and who had not moved since 1924, were also included. The records of this group of about 7,000 families were filed separately, and labeled "permanent residents." Altogether there will be approximately 75,000 residences recorded.

The analyses of these records are of particular interest for both the family population and the regional studies. It is expected that the family mobility studies which are now being carried on will yield mobility norms for families from various sections of the city. The average lengths of residence will be known for various nationality, occupational, and rent groups. From a sample of 1800 families, selected at random, the number of residences per family since 1924 was ascertained. This was found to range from one residence for the majority of the families to seven residences for a few families. When the mobility of the entire city is analyzed, these studies will be reported in more detail.

The regional studies of these residences will supply mobility data which can be correlated with other material. Areas in which the "permanent residents" are located can

be compared with those in which there is greatest movement. Rate of turnover of family population can be computed for each district, and will show the number of families moving in, moving out, and remaining in the district. Average length of residence per district and per block will be compared with other regional data. From analysis of these data, information will be available about districts "to which" and "from which" there is movement. Families will be traced to determine the geographical proximity of successive residents. These data are particularly valuable to individuals planning neighborhood or community activities. The study of a small sample of five hundred families revealed that 18 per cent of the changes in residence were in the same building or in the same block as before the move, and approximately two thirds of the changes were in the same neighborhood; *i.e.*, not more than one district removed.

In addition to the population, regional, and mobility analyses, the Social Background Studies include a series of detailed family investigations known as the "sample family studies." These studies are based upon a sample of approximately 3,000 New Haven families, selected at random. Their residence cards are kept in a separate file and any information about any member is placed in the family folder. In this way, it is hoped to compile as complete case histories as is possible about these families, which in turn are presumably representative of the total New Haven population. Several checks on the representativeness of the sample will be possible when the Hollerith study of mobility of all families within the city has been completed, since the mobility of this group is already known.

According to the present plans for the study of these sample families, all data about them will be procured from secondary sources, and much of it from investigations conducted through various projects of the Institute of Human Relations. The background studies are in a particularly advantageous position for assembling data on New Haven

as the records from all social-science research of the Institute become a part of its files as soon as the projects are completed. Furthermore, it is possible to clear the sample families with all current research at the Institute, and in this way, add considerable information about the health, mental, and social status of the family members.

Because of the multiplicity of sources of information about the same families, it will be possible to check the reliability and consistency of sources. Checks on the city directory have been made already. Thus far, it has been possible to locate over 90 per cent of the families who have moved in the city since 1924; while 100 per cent of those who have lived at their present address since 1924 are listed in the directory. Of course, this completeness may not hold for all cities in the United States; but this finding should be reassuring to those who find it convenient to use that source for selecting population samples.

In view of the unfinished stage of these Studies, a very cursory survey of the analyses under way has been presented. Much of the material will serve largely for reference purposes, as a population base for the various projects of the Institute, while other data will be collected and analyzed with reference to the solution of certain problems.

THE RESEARCH PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

JOHN K. NORTON

The National Education Association is the national professional organization of teachers. It serves teachers as the American Bar Association serves lawyers and the American Medical Association serves physicians. The N. E. A., as it is commonly called, consists of the parent organization and of some twenty departments representative of such groups as superintendents of schools, school principals, directors and supervisors of instruction, and classroom teachers. The parent organization is governed by a national representative assembly of approximately 1,200 delegates, which meets annually, and by various smaller governing boards. The departments of the organization are separately financed, have their own officers, and determine their own policies. The Association proper and its various departments work through a number of committees appointed for a variety of purposes. The N. E. A. aims to be an all-inclusive organization representative of all educational interests. While representing the teaching profession as a unit, it also offers adequate opportunity for the exercise of autonomy and initiative on the part of the various specialized groups which compose the profession. The Association and its departments have a yearly income of well over a half million dollars, practically all of which is obtained from annual membership dues.

An extensive program of activities is maintained by the Association. It publishes the *Journal*, the *Annual Volume of Addresses and Proceedings*, the *Research Bulletin*, and a long list of committee reports, and departmental yearbooks and bulletins. It organizes two national conventions annually which are attended by from ten to fifteen thousand people representative of practically every educational in-

terest in the nation. It also has a legislative and publicity program.

The work of the Association is performed by a headquarters staff of approximately 150 employees housed in a seven-story office building located in Washington, D. C.

ESTABLISHMENT OF RESEARCH DIVISION

The Research Division is one of the nine sections comprising the headquarters office.

This Division was established in 1922 and commissioned to assemble factual information needed by the Association in shaping its policies and in exercising its function as the spearhead of educational advance.

Those familiar with educational history in recent decades need not be told that pooled experience and tested knowledge are rapidly replacing individual opinion and prejudice as guides to educational progress. The establishment of the Research Division and its rapid development is a concrete recognition of this tendency by the teaching profession as a whole.

The research staff. The Research Division now employs a personnel of thirty persons. The director of research, in charge of the Division, is responsible to the executive secretary and the officers of the Association. Sharing the supervision of the Division's work is an associate director and three assistant directors. In addition, there are a number of research assistants and clerical workers. The research assistants assemble and organize bibliographies, trace down needed statistical and similar basic material, and under the guidance of the directors conduct some of the Division's investigations.

In addition to a special educational library which provides library service for the whole headquarters, the Research Division also includes correspondence and statistical units trained to aid in the assemblage, organization, and publication of educational data.

The research program. The chief function of the Research Division is to collect, organize, and distribute factual material on educational problems.

The investigational program of the Division has been broad rather than narrow, covering subjects of the widest educational significance as well as those more directly concerned with the advancement of teaching as a profession.

In coöperation with the committees of the Department of Superintendence, the Division has prepared a series of publications bearing upon the reconstruction of the curriculum from the kindergarten through the college. These publications, presenting material based both on best practice and experimental investigation, have done much to advance the whole curriculum-revision movement of the last decade.

The Division has also conducted a number of studies in the field of State educational administration. With the assistance of the State departments of education as well as the State education associations, the Division periodically anticipates the principal problems of State educational administration and legislation. Its investigation then seeks to assemble the results of best practice and scientific research in such form that they will be of practical value in dealing with these questions.

The problems of school principals have been the basis of a series of publications prepared in coöperation with the Department of Elementary School Principals. These studies have been widely used by principals in reorganizing their schools according to modern standards.

The problems of the teaching profession have been dealt with from a number of angles. The Division is the principal storehouse of theoretical and factual material concerning teachers' salaries. The material issued on salary scheduling has done much to advance the development of sound principles and policies affecting the financial compensation of teachers. The trend from the old piecemeal method of paying teachers, in which political and various fortuitous

factors were the determinants, to the principle of long-time planning is to be partly traced to the Division's activities in this field. A well-known economist recently listed the work of the National Education Association as one of the three major factors responsible for the relatively large gain in the real earnings of teachers in the last decade. The Division is at present coöperating with the teacher-training survey of the United States Office of Education in a national survey of the teacher supply and demand situation.

In achieving its objectives, the Division makes use of three principal means of service: publications, correspondence, and consultation.

The chief publication is the *Research Bulletin* issued five times each year. At present 100,000 copies of this bulletin are distributed annually. The publication, leaflets, and articles published in various educational periodicals serve to disseminate the results of the Division's work. The titles of certain issues of the *Research Bulletin* will serve to illustrate the breadth of the Division's investigational activities:

1. Vitalizing the High-School Curriculum
2. The Scheduling of Teachers' Salaries
3. A Self-Survey Plan for State School Systems
4. Investing in Public Education
5. Current Issues in Teacher Retirement
6. The Principal at Work on His Problems

Correspondence is the second means whereby the Division achieves its purpose. In a typical year some 10,000 letters are written in response to requests for factual information by all types of members of the Association from kindergarten teachers to State school superintendents and college presidents. These inquiries not only offer a means of marketing the results of research, but also constitute a practical guide to the educational problems which are in greatest need of investigation.

The third channel of service involves consultative and editorial arrangements between the Division and the va-

rious committees and departments of the National Education Association. Major responsibilities involving research and guidance of research efforts have been recently exercised with the following:

1. Committee on Retirement Allowances
2. Curriculum and Articulation Commissions of the Department of Superintendence
3. Committee on Propaganda in the Schools
4. National Council of Education
5. Yearbook Committee of Department of Elementary School Principals
6. Yearbook Committee of the Department of Classroom Teachers
7. Committee on the Economic Status of Teachers
8. The American Educational Research Association

The establishment of the Research Division is a concrete illustration of the growing desire of the teaching profession to build its procedures in educating children upon the results of scientific inquiry. In the further advancement of this tendency the Division finds its opportunity for present and future service.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES OF THE WELFARE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

NEVA R. DEARDORFF

In its program of studies, the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York stresses fact finding as distinguished from what is often referred to as pure research. This is a poor antithesis. It implies that fact finding is impure or somehow spurious.

It may clarify this distinction to think of the fact-finding type of inquiry and study as that which puts us in possession of accurate data relating to matters which are changing and changeable in their nature. Pure research aims at data on the "immutable laws of nature" conceived as the very essence of truth, which, once discovered, remains stationary for a while at least. Fact finding is highly utilitarian and because the facts with which it deals are mutable, must go on continuously. Pure research can—and should—scorn immediate utility. It starts and stops as those who carry it on, or those who support it, choose. In the field of the social sciences it would seem that a vast amount of very good fact finding will be necessary before we shall be able to distill very much essential truth regarding the workings of society.

The Council's research program was chartered in 1925 by the report of the Coördination Committee. In that document, prepared by W. Frank Persons, it was laid down as part of the coördination procedure that the Welfare Council should have a Research Bureau to serve as an aid to the realization of the objectives of the Welfare Council which were listed as (1) securing better factual basis for community planning, (2) better teamwork among social agencies, (3) better standards of social work, (4) better public understanding of social work, (5) better support of social work. It was specifically recommended that the Council should set up a Research Bureau which would answer such

questions as: Does social service now seriously overlap? Are important needs overlooked? Are there agencies no longer necessary or effective? Are standards of social work satisfactory? Is preventive work properly emphasized? Is there well-proportioned extension of social service? Is social service being wisely planned?¹

In the late spring of 1927 this Research Bureau came into existence and there was thus created a research body hitched to a concern which has now federated 900 social agencies, which has a responsibility for coöperative planning, and which has a staff to carry on the conference, coördination, and promotion processes growing out of studies.

This original mandate served to guide the Research Bureau's program until 1930 when a joint committee of the Research and Executive Committees of the Welfare Council reviewed progress to date and laid down in a preliminary way some further principles for the guidance of the program for the next few years.

After nearly four years of operation the work schedule of the Bureau stands as follows:

Studies Completed or under Way as of February, 1931.

Published

Welfare Problems in New York City, which have been studied and reported upon during the period from 1915 through 1925, by Shelby M. Harrison and Allen Eaton. 1926.²

Classification of Social Agencies by Function in the City of New York, by Edith Shatto King, assisted by Augusta Frear. 1926.²

Where to Turn for Help. A study of services for directing persons in need to social agencies, and of the experience of 1,766 individuals in search of assistance, by Kathryn Farra. Out of print.

Aged Dependents Cared for Outside of Institutions by Private Agencies in New York City. Published in *The American Labor Legislation Review* in June 1929. A census of women sixty and over and men sixty-five and over receiving relief from family-welfare societies, relief societies, and some churches during the year 1927. Contains information on age distribution, race, and nativity, marital condition, occupations, employment, etc.

¹The Welfare Council of New York City, a report by W. Frank Persons to the Coördination Committee, New York City, August 1925.

²Published prior to the organization of the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council.

Correlation between Lodgings of Homeless Men and Employment in New York City. Published in the *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association* for 1928. Indicates the trend and fluctuations in the volume of lodgings provided since 1897 and correlates this with employment and business indexes.

A Health Inventory of New York City: A study of the volume and distribution of health service in the five boroughs, by Michael M. Davis and Mary C. Jarrett. Analyzes the health problems and the volume of service rendered in the following fields: child hygiene; baby hygiene, preschool hygiene, school hygiene; maternity hygiene; tuberculosis control; venereal-disease control; dental hygiene; health examination; mental hygiene; control of heart diseases; cancer control; control of eye disorders; health education.

Seamen with Venereal Disease in the Port of New York: A coöperative study of social data for 961 seamen with venereal disease under treatment in two hospitals and a clinic of the United States Public Health Service. Also reviews the number of seamen in the port, the social resources serving their needs, labor organizations among seamen, welfare work by steamship companies, United States Government regulations for providing treatment for citizen and alien seamen, the provision of treatment by privately supported clinics, and other data. Published by United States Public Health Service, Document No. 1365.

A Guide to Statistics of Social Welfare in New York City: An index of the items of statistical information of the welfare of the people of New York City found in 355 books and publications, by Florence DuBois.

A Bibliography on the Employment Handicaps of Older Persons. Contains a listing and brief description of all of the recent books and articles on this subject published in English. Mimeographed.

A Brief Study of the Occupational Work for Older Persons in Homes for the Aged: Findings on 169 persons in seven homes. Contains a plan for a self-study by a home. Mimeographed.

Music in Thirty-Eight Settlements in New York City. Preprinted from the Welfare Council's Study of Settlements in New York City.

The Visual Arts in New York Settlements. Preprinted from the Welfare Council's Study of Settlements in New York City.

Boys' Athletics in 33 Settlements in the City of New York. Preprinted from the Welfare Council's Study of Settlements in New York City.

A Survey of Some Phases of Educational Work with Preschool Children in 11 Settlements in the City of New York. In course of publication.

Boys' Work in Brooklyn. A study of the recreational needs and preferences of 1,533 boys in three public schools in Brooklyn and a summary of the work for boys in that city. In course of publication.

Census of the Bowery, 1930. Under the title of "Real Truths about the Bowery Emerge from Census Analysis" in *Better Times*, November 1930.

Bibliography on Social Work Finance and Publicity. Mimeographed. Manhattan House Numbers in Health Areas. A handbook showing the health areas in which every house number in Manhattan is found. In course of publication.

Reports Not Yet Published (Manuscripts may be consulted in the Research Bureau)

Income and expenditure Study

Financial Trends of Agencies Engaged in Giving Outdoor Relief in New York City

Trends in Organized Legal Aid in New York City

Trends in Settlements and Neighborhood Houses in New York City

Financial Trends of Protective and Correctional Agencies in New York City (including section on Probation)

Financial Trends in the Institutional Care of the Aged in New York City

Financial Trends in Child-Caring Agencies in New York City

Settlements Study

A Summary of the Activities, Membership, Personnel, and Expenditures of 80 Settlements in the City of New York

Clubs in 48 Settlements in the City of New York

a) Girls' Clubs and Boys' Clubs

b) Women's Clubs

Health Work in 30 Settlements in the City of New York

Personal Service in 42 Settlements in the City of New York

Membership of 18 Settlements in the City of New York

In-Town Summer Programs of 41 Settlements in the City of New York

Appraisal of the Magazines of 17 Settlements in New York City

Holiday Celebrations

The Teaching of English and Citizenship to the Foreign Born in 20 Settlements in the City of New York

Study of Chronic Illness

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Private Homes for the Aged in and near New York City

Preliminary Report on the Chronically Ill Persons Found by a Census in Private Homes for the Aged

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Municipal Institutions in New York City

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Nursing Services in New York City

Preliminary Memorandum on the Care of the Chronic Sick by Family-Service Agencies of New York City

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Convalescent Homes in and near New York City

Unemployment in New York City: An estimate of the number of unemployed persons in December 1930, and sources of information on unemployment in New York City

Studies in the Care of the Homeless

Homeless Clients of Fourteen Agencies in New York City in August 1926. An analysis of the social characteristics of 678 homeless men who applied to social agencies for aid.

The Use of the Municipal Lodging House by Residents and Non-residents in 1927: An analysis of 6,000 persons using the lodging house.

Impressions of the Bowery, by Nels Anderson. Mr. Anderson, who made extensive studies of homeless men, spent two weeks on the Bowery in the spring of 1928 observing the types of men there and trying to find out their attitudes towards efforts made in their behalf.

Indices of Social Conditions in New York City

Trends in the Public Care of Dependent Children in New York City, a statistical study of the changes in the number of children in institutions and boarding homes as public charges of New York City and in homes of their own mothers receiving aid from the Board of Child Welfare.

Study of the Financing of Social Work in New York: Reports on United Hospital Fund

Charity Chest of the Fur Industry

Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies

Research Projects Under Way

Income and Expenditure Study covers the entire field of social work. Collection of data for all fields completed for 1910-1926, and about one half accomplished for 1927-1929. Final report in process.

Settlements' Study

Administration of the Settlement

Interpretation of the Settlement

Study of Chronic Illness

Preliminary Memorandum on the Care of the Chronic Sick by Nursing Services of New York City

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Private Hospitals in New York City

Preliminary Report on the Chronically Ill Persons Found by a Census in Medical and Social Agencies in New York City

Indexes of Social Conditions in New York City: A search for a series of statistical data out of which to construct indexes of trends and fluctuations in dependency. Series of monthly data have been secured on:

1. Lodgings of homeless persons—some data as early as 1897. Analysis of relation to business indexes kept up-to-date
2. Almshouse population—data from 1849
3. Cases in public hospitals—some data from 1905

4. Cases in private hospitals for whom the City pays for care—data from 1918.

Monthly Statistics on the Volume of Service (details confidential) for:

1. Agencies caring for the homeless. Series began with March 1929, with 9 agencies (including 2 branches, Salvation Army) now reporting
2. Homes for the aged. Series began with May 1927, with 52 homes and 2 agencies caring for the aged now reporting
3. Family-service agencies. Series began with July 1928, with 9 agencies now reporting
4. Nonprofit-making employment bureaus. Series began with February 1928, with 36 agencies (including 7 branches, Y.M.C.A.; 7 branches Y.W.C.A.) now reporting
5. Room registries. Series began with April 1929, with 10 agencies (including 6 branches Y.W.C.A.) now reporting
6. Sheltered workshops. Series began with December 1928, with 15 agencies (including 3 branches, Salvation Army) now reporting

Work-Study of the Homeless. A study of the nature of the problems of destitute homeless men in New York City and of their social treatment (1) to find and test the possibilities of readjusting and stabilizing such of these men as appeal to social agencies; (2) to see at close range the nature of the service of the various agencies and their interrelationship; (3) to add to existing knowledge regarding the causes of the destitution found among these men.

Study of the Financing of Social Work in New York:

1. History and extent of financial federation—will include detailed studies of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Chicago, and Boston
2. Trends in giving
Analysis of contributors' lists in New York
Consolidated board member list
Money raising by newspapers

Neighborhood Statistics: A study of data available for New York City neighborhoods; i.e., the characteristics of population, social conditions, economic levels, and any other statistics significant in the comparison of needs of neighborhoods and in planning the distribution of social services.

House Numbers in Health Areas:

Brooklyn

Bronx

Queens

Richmond

A handbook showing the health area in which every house number in New York City is found.

Study of Delinquency in Selected Areas: A study of areas selected on the basis of racial and nationality groups in order to make

an appraisal of the validity of official statistics of juvenile delinquency as measures of neighborhood conditions and needs.

To those who think of such studies as highly individual enterprises, it may be of interest to see how they have been carried through on a coöperative basis.

The Research Committee of the Welfare Council, now composed of 20 men in close touch with most of the leading social-research organizations in New York City, has functioned faithfully since its organization in 1927.¹ There have been comparatively few changes of personnel, and the committee has lost no members through lack of interest. It meets once a month, except in the middle of the summer, at the Welfare Council's office. At these meetings, which occupy an evening through dinner, proposed projects are examined, the director's quarterly progress reports discussed, and the finished pieces of work reviewed. The findings of no study are released until they have gone through this mill.

In the early days of the committee some procedures were set up which have proved very valuable in achieving clarity and efficiency. One of these related to the responsibility which the Research Committee assumed towards the organization of the Bureau. It was decided early that the committee would direct its attention primarily to a scrutiny of the methods employed and results set forth in studies and leave administrative detail entirely to the staff of the Bureau which is directly responsible to the Council's Executive Committee and Board of Directors. While in the strictest sense the Research Committee has no literal power or authority over the staff—it selects no personnel, establishes no salary rates, and has nothing to do with hours, vacations, sick leave, arrangement of working schedules, and similar administrative matters—yet the weight of the Research

¹The original membership consisted of: Porter R. Lee, chairman, Bailey B. Burritt, Robert E. Chaddock, Stanley P. Davies, Michael M. Davis, Godias J. Drolet, Louis I. Dublin, Haven Emerson, Homer Folks, C. Luther Fry, Samuel A. Goldsmith, Ralph G. Hurlin, Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, Willford I. King, Philip Klein. Since 1927 the following members have been added: F. Stuart Chapin, Maurice J. Karpf, Harry L. Lurie, Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, E. B. Patton, Stuart A. Rice, Arthur L. Swift, Jr., and Edgar Sydenstricker.

Committee's influence is stupendous with the staff, the Council's various officers, and the foundations which support the research program. These men constitute a sort of local research council which does not assume responsibility for the work of the Research Bureau but formulates opinions of the utmost value. When each piece of finished work comes before the committee, a final vote is taken as to whether it approves the job. The formula for approval has been phrased thus:

Approval implies that the Committee considers that (a) the study has had expert consultation on subject matter, (b) method by which the study was carried out was sound, and (c) findings have been accurately stated and conclusions correctly drawn. It is recognized that every member of the Research Committee will not be able to examine reports minutely and that, therefore, subcommittees must be relied upon for these detailed examinations, and further that ultimate responsibility for accuracy of detail rests on the research worker who prepares the report.

Another useful decision reached after much consideration was that the Research Bureau reports, as such, should not as a usual procedure carry specific recommendations regarding the social work program in the city. As Professor Dewey has so pertinently remarked "The difference between facts which are what they are independent of human desire and endeavor and facts which are to some extent what they are because of human interest and purpose, and which alter with alteration in the latter, cannot be got rid of by any methodology."² The Research Bureau of the Welfare Council makes no effort to use facts to coerce belief or action. After the Research Bureau has set forth a statement of a social situation based on as complete data as it can secure and has drawn conclusions from them, those persons and agencies most concerned with the situation are asked to sit down together to digest the facts presented and to think through their implications in terms of practical action. As our work schedule indicates, reports are trans-

²John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927), p. 7.

mitted to such committees and released to the public in sections as rapidly as these are completed so that readers have an opportunity to absorb the information in a fairly leisurely way and are not overwhelmed with a large and bulky report in a single dose. Committees are left free to draft such plans of procedure in the light of the facts as seem to them wise and expedient. The Research Bureau is free to publish any materials which it considers of general interest.

In the course of its work the Research Bureau has conceived it a part of its service to put at the disposal of others such tools as it has had to develop for its own use. The pamphlet "Welfare Problems in New York City" was a bibliography of local studies. The "Guide to Statistics of Social Welfare in New York City" indicates precisely the items of statistical information which can be secured on various subjects. Bibliographies with notes have been issued on employment handicaps of older persons and on social-work finance and publicity. The guides to the house numbers in health areas throughout the city are indispensable tools for the classification of data according to the standard population units. The Welfare Council hopes to promote the use of this classification by agencies, public and private, so that the Research Bureau will receive current reports which can be quickly and easily combined to give a total accounting on a given subject and for a given area.

That the research program might be built out of materials better understood at the outset, studies have been classified as belonging to the following types: (1) inventories of social resources, (2) descriptions of social problems, (3) continuous measures of incidence of various forms of need, (4) demographic studies, (5) studies of method, (6) working demonstrations, (7) studies of social causation. Since this outline was published in *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*, vol. IV, no. 2, October 1930, and discussed in a paper at the International Conference

of Social Work in Paris in 1928 and at other conferences, space will not be consumed here in elaborating on it. It is sufficient to remark that embryonic as it seems, this little classification has served a useful purpose in helping us describe proposed projects and unify thinking about them.

BOOK REVIEWS

Methods in Social Science, by STUART A. RICE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931, xiii+822 pages.

This volume is a significant contribution to the literature on scientific method in the social sciences. It is edited by Stuart A. Rice and Harold D. Laswell, who acted as co-investigators for the Committee on Scientific Method of the Social Science Research Council. Several plans for the development of the volume were formulated and rejected during the several years that the project was before the Committee. The plan finally agreed upon was to appoint scholars to analyze the methods used in the production of over sixty major contributions in the social sciences, including the fields of anthropology, economics, history, human geography, politics and law, psychology, social psychology, sociology, and statistics. The notion of the 'case book' was evolved. It was conceived as an inductive study of methods *actually used* in significant contributions to social science. An advisory committee of three members from each of the various societies represented in the Social Science Research Council was appointed to choose what it considered the outstanding contributions in its field. A specialist in the field in which the contribution appeared was chosen in each case for its analysis. In a few cases, statements from the authors of the volumes analyzed were presented, giving an account of the methodological interests of the authors in question.

It is recognized in the present volume that method is regarded "as a term of variable meanings," although there is emphasized throughout the volume "that view of method which identifies it with the concepts and assumptions underlying scientific inquiry, and in terms of which the major aspects of the problem are formulated. "To recapitulate, instead of saying that the concepts and assumptions of an author *predetermine* his methods, they are regarded as *instruments* as well as *frameworks* of investigation." Actual conceptions of method necessarily had to be formulated in terms of the procedures used by the authors of the volumes analyzed. No attempt has been made by the editor to synthesize the interpretations of the individual analysts, or to draw conclusions from their findings with respect to the methodology of social science. If this task is attempted, it should form the subject of a separate volume. Professor Laswell presents a classification of methods on the basis of the analyses included, however, in one of the appendices. Classifications also appear in the appendices of methods in psychology, methods in economics, technical considerations

involved in agricultural economics, as well as a suggestive bibliography of books and articles of importance in sociological method and standpoint and a brief analysis of contributions of public administration to political science. The editor wrote the introduction which was concerned with definitions of method, classified the analyses by disciplines in the appendix, and wrote the "history and organization of the case book."

The divisions under which case analyses are presented in the volume include The Delimitation of Fields of Inquiry, The Definition of Objects of Investigation, The Establishment of Units and Scales, Attempts to Discover Spatial Distributions and Temporal Sequences, Interpretations of Change as a Developmental Stage, Interpretations of Relationship Among Unmeasured Factors, Attempts to Determine Relations Among Measured But Experimentally Uncontrolled Factors, and Attempts to Determine Quantitative Relations Among Measured and Experimentally Controlled Factors.

R. L. WHITLEY

Statistics in Social Studies, edited by STUART A. RICE.
Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press,
1930, xii+222 pages.

The volume contains a group of papers designed to exhibit the nature of the problems that are encountered when the methods of statistics are applied to social and sociological studies, assembled by the Committee on Social Statistics of the American Statistical Association.

Differentiation in statistical methodology appears to depend upon the particular characteristics or needs of the subject matter to which it is applied, rather than upon essential dissimilarities of technique. Thus, there are textbooks in business statistics, in educational statistics, and in psychometrics. The concepts and technical methods employed in each are fundamentally similar. But no one has yet ventured to give to a book the title "sociological statistics," "social work statistics," "political statistics," or "anthropological statistics."

The papers, designed to display applications of statistical method to social data, are contributed by Rice (Historico-Statistical Approach to Social Studies); Ogburn (Statistical Studies of Marriage and the Family); Carter (Statistical Studies of Health and Medical Care); Hurlin (Statistical Studies of Dependency); Young (Statistical Studies of Race Relations); Gehlke (Statistical Studies of Crime and the Administration of Justice); Marshall (The Beginnings of Judicial Statistics); Gebhart (Prohibition: Statistical Studies of Enforcement and Social Effects); Feldman (Fallacies in Prohibition Statistics); Fisher (A Critical Examination of Certain Prohibition Statistics); Rice (Statis-

tical Studies of Social Attitudes and Public Opinion); Kirkpatrick (Statistical Studies of Personality and Personality Maladjustment).

The trend of research in sociology, anthropology, political science, and social work is in the direction already taken by research in economics, psychology, and education—in the direction of statistical analysis. Consequently, every person engaged in social research will find the volume timely and suggestive.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

Measurement in Social Work, by A. W. McMILLEN.

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, xv+154 pages.

One of the great difficulties in the way of the application of statistical method to social data lies in the lack of uniformity of the data prepared by various social agencies—particularly in the lack of uniformity in the definition of categories under which data are classified and in omissions due to disagreement as to what is significant. For the past year a Joint Committee composed of representatives of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago has been engaged in an effort to standardize measurements of social work. The volume presents the results of such standardization on the part of a number of national social agencies. The fields included, in addition to a preliminary chapter on the registration of social statistics in 1928, are: family and ex-soldier welfare and relief and mothers' pensions; legal aid; noninstitutional service to travelers; care of dependent and neglected children; and institutional care of adults. There is a concluding chapter summarizing the committee's first year of work.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

Recording and Reporting for Child Guidance Clinics, by

MARY AUGUSTA CLARK. New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1930, xi+151 pages.

This handbook, developed in connection with the program of the Commonwealth Fund in the field of mental hygiene and child guidance, represents an attempt at the standardization of the recording of clinical statistics which will make them available for research and statistical analysis. The system of recording outlined was experimentally developed in the practice of the Commonwealth Child Guidance Clinics, and other coöperating agencies. It is to be hoped that the system of service book-keeping outlined will be widely adopted, thus making workable for those interested in research the rich veins of human experience that are being tapped by clinics dealing with problems of social adjustment. The

Commonwealth Fund will supply to interested organizations the printed forms worked out for this standardized recording at a nominal cost.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

The Negro Wage Earner, by LORENZO J. GREENE and CARTER G. WOODSON. Washington, D. C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1930, 353 pages.

The increased output of literature by the Negro and about the Negro indicates the growing consciousness on the part of the American public of the importance of the race in our national life. This increased output also indicates the growing recognition on the part of both whites and Negroes that we have a problem of racial adjustment that will require the best intelligent effort on the part of both groups in its solution. The volume under review is a distinct contribution to the literature relating to the place and importance of the Negro in American life. Incidentally it will clear up certain misconceptions about the Negro and prejudices and superstitions concerning him.

Space allowed for this review does not permit an adequate treatment of this extraordinary book, but some points of emphasis will indicate the character of the data assembled and will, I hope, cause every one interested in this most significant of American social problems to read the book in its entirety.

The second point relates to the superstition that the Negro will not work. While the Negro comprises but 11.9 per cent of the total population, he furnishes 13.5 of all those gainfully employed. This proportion would have no doubt been greatly increased had not the rigid restrictions limited his sphere of operation.

The third and final point which we can mention is the decrease in the comparative number engaged in agriculture and personal service and the increased number employed in manufacture, mechanical pursuits, trade and transportation, and the professions. One of the most noteworthy tendencies is the increased ownership of farms especially during the decade 1900-1910. This tendency was checked during the war period by the migration of the industries to the North, but this check is no doubt temporary.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

History of Economics, by OTHMAR SPANN, translated from the German by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1930, 22+311 pages.

This *History of Economics* which has gone through nineteen editions in German, and has been translated into many languages, including

Spanish and Japanese, now has been translated into English. This book is not only a history of economic science, but also a concise formulation of the main theories and systems of political economy. The leading economists and their ideas, from the mercantile system to the present day, are treated historically and in the relation of their development, the result being an excellent survey of the whole field of economics in the light of the problems it presents today.

The book is very valuable from many standpoints, including the splendid arrangement and organization of materials, but one of its most significant contributions has been the way in which the author has emphasized the *international* aspects of economics. These problems are being recognized to have increasing importance as business takes on more and more an international character.

JOHN N. ANDREWS

Education and International Relations, by DANIEL A. PRESCOTT. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930, 139 pages.

Among the publications dealing with education in its international aspects this book deserves consideration. Following chapters dealing with Tradition, National Consciousness, Class Consciousness, The Organized Opinion of Teachers, New Psychological and Pedagogical Principles, Organizations External to Official Education, The League of Nations, The Interplay of Social Forces, the author summarizes the educational implications, and the quotation of the closing paragraph will give the reader a notion of the spirit and character of the book:

In summary, the educational implications set forth in this chapter are: (1) that the struggle against the drag of tradition should not take the form of a direct attack upon well-established educational methods and materials. (2) That the psychology of habit suggests the desirability of developing the scientific attitude in the pupils of all schools. This attitude includes: a clear insight into the problems of society, the conscious search for all the facts relating to these problems, and the regarding of solutions as tentative, to be measured by the results secured by their application. (3) That the settings in which international problems are studied should be deémotionalized. (4) That the direction of social evolution viewed on a humanitarian basis should determine the perspective of education in dealing with international problems.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

At the Detroit meeting of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology it was decided that the work of the Society as such would be discontinued for the present and the activities of the organization would be fused, first—with the American Sociological Society with the section on educational sociology, and second—with the American Association of College Teachers of Education, also with the section on educational sociology. Professor John M. Brewer of the Harvard Graduate School of Education was elected chairman of the sectional groups above mentioned and Professor Benjamin F. Stalcup of the School of Education of New York University is to continue as the secretary and coöperate with the chairman in getting a program ready for these sectional meetings. Membership in the American Sociological Society carries with it the privilege of any or all the sectional meetings of the organization. The same plan holds true with reference to the American Association of College Teachers of Education. It is believed that this plan will not affect the growth and progress of educational sociology, but will give those interested the opportunity to function in connection with these other two large groups of sociologists and educators.

Fourth Biennial Conference on World Education

Denver will be the scene of the fourth biennial convention of the World Federation of Education Associations, July 27 to August 2.

Present indications point to an attendance that will run well into the thousands. The homeward trek of teachers attending the N. E. A. convention at Los Angeles will be interrupted at Denver by this second great convention of the summer.

The World Federation of Education Associations came into existence in San Francisco in 1923 at the time of the summer convention of the N. E. A. at Oakland. Out of this beginning grew the first biennial convention at Edinburgh in 1925. Three thousand educators were in attendance. From Edinburgh to Toronto in 1927 where eight thousand convention guests registered; from Toronto to Geneva in 1929 where three thousand delegates representing fifty-three nations joined in the deliberations; from Geneva to Denver in 1931 where an attendance between five and ten thousand is expected—this in brief tells the story of the World Federation so far as conventions and numbers present can tell a story.

The organization of the association into international committees reveals, however, an amazing story of effort in attaining the following objectives: "Friendship, justice, and good will among the nations of the world"; "Tolerance of the rights of all nations"; "Appreciation of the value of inherited gifts of nations and races."

Towards these ends committees are at work throughout the world at all levels of public- and private-school organizations. This committee

work was organized on the plan of Dr. David Starr Jordan, who, at the 1925 convention, was awarded the Herman prize of \$25,000 for the best plan "calculated to produce world understanding and coöperation through understanding."

The association includes the following departmental organizations: the Parent-Teacher Association, health education, educational crafts, preparation of teachers, international aspects of library service, education and the press, rural life and rural education, preschool and kindergarten, elementary education, secondary education, the international aspect of colleges and universities.

Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, Augusta, Maine, is president of the World Federation of Education Associations, and Dr. Charles H. Williams, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, is secretary. The list of committee chairmen includes the names of educators known throughout the world.

TWENTY GET FELLOWSHIPS FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
Awards Valued at \$70,000 Are Won in National Tests by University Students

Research fellowships valued at \$70,000 have been awarded for 1931-1932 by the Social Science Research Council, it was announced March 7 by Walter R. Sharp, fellowship secretary of the Council, 230 Park Avenue.

This is the seventh group of research fellows appointed by the Council in carrying out its program, begun in 1925, embracing economics, social, economic, and political history, political science, sociology, social psychology, cultural anthropology, statistics and allied fields, such as political geography, law, and education.

The new fellows, 20 in number, holders of the doctor's degree or its equivalent from twelve American universities, were chosen in a national competition "for exceptional ability in research." They will work in England, Continental Europe, the United States, Mexico, and Palestine. The scope of their research includes the history of French fashions, problems of labor in widely separated parts of the world, the behavior of the ape, theories of money, criminology, heredity, national boundaries, mental traits and the family.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Dr. Emory S. Bogardus is chairman of the department of sociology at the University of Southern California. He received his A.B. and A.M. degrees from Northwestern University and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He has had wide experience as a worker and research student in the field of social and child-welfare problems and activities, and has been one of the leading organizers of such activities in the Los Angeles section of California. Dr. Bogardus's teaching career has been spent in the department of sociology of the University of Southern California. At present he is president of the American Sociological Society. He is an active member of numerous educational and sociological organ-

izations, is editor of the new *Journal of Sociology and Social Research*, and is the author of several books in the field of sociology, some of the more recent being *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, *History of Social Thought*, and *The New Social Research*.

Professor F. Stuart Chapin attended the University of Rochester. He received his Sc.B. degree in 1909, A.M. in 1910, and Ph.D. in 1911, from Columbia University. He has taught in Wellesley College and Smith College. At present he is professor of sociology, chairman of the department, and director of training courses for social and civic work at the University of Minnesota. He was president of Minnesota State Conference of Social Work from 1927-1928. Dr. Chapin is the author of the books *Field Work and Social Research* and *Cultural Change*.

Miss Neva R. Deardorff, director, Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York City, received her doctor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Deardorff has done active research work in the field of social and child welfare. She is chairman of the United States Committee on Coöperation in Pan American Child Welfare Work. She is the author of many articles in educational publication and books, some of which are "English Trade to the Baltic During the Reign of Elizabeth"; "Legal Adoption in Pennsylvania"; "Some Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1926; "Child Welfare" in *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 3, 1930.

Miss Mirra Komarovsky came to the United States from the Caucasus, in 1922. She received her A.B. degree from Barnard College in 1926 and her A.M. from Columbia in 1927. Miss Komarovsky has held the position of assistant professor of sociology at Skidmore College. At present she is research assistant at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University.

Professor John K. Norton received his A.B. degree from Stanford in 1916; A.M. in 1917; and Ph.D. Columbia, 1926. He has been for several years the director of research of the National Education Association, and editor of the *Research Bulletin*, Washington, D. C. Dr. Norton is a member of the National Education Association and the American Research Association of which he was president in 1927-1928. He is the author of *The Ability of the States to Support Education*. Dr. Norton has resigned as director of research of the National Education Association to take effect at the end of the academic year 1931 to accept a professorship in education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Miss Mildred B. Parten received her A.B. degree from the University of Minnesota in 1923 and her Ph.D. from the same University in 1929. She was a research fellow, Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota; assistant professor of sociology, Texas State College for Women; and research assistant, Yale Institute of Human Relations from 1929 to the present. Dr. Parten has just been awarded a Social Science Research Fellowship for the coming year and will study at the London School of Economics.

